

# Khoemana

**!Orakobab** or ***Khoemana***, also known as **Korana**, **!Ora**, or **Griqua**, is a moribund Khoe language of South Africa.

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## Names

"Khoemana" (from *khoe* 'person' + *mana* 'language') is more commonly known as either **Korana** /kɒˈrɑːnə/ (also !Orakobab, !Ora, Kora, Koraqua) or **Griqua** (also Gri [xri], Xri, Xiri, Xirikwa).<sup>[3]</sup> The name 'Korana' reflects the endonym **!Ora** IPA: [!oɾa] or **!Gora** IPA: [g!oɾa], referring to the !Ora people.<sup>[4]</sup> Sometimes !Ora is also known as **Cape Khoe** or Cape Hottentot, though the latter has become considered derogatory. The various names are often treated as different languages (called **South Khoekhoe** when taken together), but they do not correspond to any actual dialect distinctions, and speakers may use "Korana" and "Griqua" interchangeably. Both names are also used more broadly, for example for the Griqua people. There exist (or existed) several dialects of Khoemana, but the details are unknown.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Phonology

Khoemana is closely related to Khoekhoe, and the sound systems are broadly similar. The strongly aspirated Khoekhoe affricates are simply aspirated plosives [tʰ, kʰ] in Khoemana. However, Khoemana has an ejective velar affricate, /kxʰʔ/,<sup>[6]</sup> which is not found in Khoekhoe, and a corresponding series of clicks, /ǀxʰ ǁxʰ ǃxʰ ǂxʰ/. Beach (1938)<sup>[7]</sup> reported that the Khoekhoe of the time had a velar lateral ejective affricate, [kǀʰ], a common realisation or allophone of /kxʰ/ in languages with clicks, and it might be expected that this is true for Khoemana as well. In addition, about half of all lexical words in Khoemana began with a click, compared to a quarter in Khoekhoe.

Khoemana	
Griqua, Korana, !Ora, Kora	
<span></span> <div>!Orakobab</div>	
Native to	South Africa, Namibia
Ethnicity	Griqua people
Native speakers	6 (2008) <sup>[1]</sup>
Language family	<div>Khoe<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Khoekhoe<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><b>Khoemana</b></li></ul></li></ul></div>
Language codes	
ISO 639-3	Either: <div>kqz – Korana</div> <div>xii – Xiri</div>
Glottolog	sout3214 ( <span>http://glottolog.org/resource/language/id/sout3214</span> ) <sup>[2]</sup>

#### Khoemana vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i ĩ		u ũ
Mid	e	ə	o õ
Open	a ã		

In Korana, [oe] and [oa] can be pronounced as [we] and [wa].

#### Khoemana non-click consonants

		Labial		Dental		Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	plain	p	b	t	d		k	ʔ
	aspirated			t <sup>h</sup>			k <sup>h</sup>	
Fricative						s	x	h
Affricate Ejective				ts'			kx'	
Nasal		m		n				
Trill						r		

- The phoneme [k] can be realized as /c/ before [e] or [i].
- An intervocalic [p] and [b] are sometimes realized as /β/.
- [s] is stated to be alveolar-postalveolar when not followed by a close front vowel [i], [ĩ], or [e].
- The aspirated phoneme [t<sup>h</sup>] is realized as an affricate sound /ts/ when followed by a close front vowel [i], [ĩ], or [e].
- The aspirated sound [k<sup>h</sup>] can sometimes be realized as [kx]. Some Griqua speakers may pronounce [k<sup>h</sup>] as [k'].
- The [ts'] sound only seldom occurs.
- [m] and [n] can occur syllabically as [m̩] and [n̩].
- The trilled [r] can also be realized as a flapped [ɾ] in some speech.
- Voicing can be very weak in Khoemana in casual speech, so voiced plosives can be hard to distinguish from voiceless plosives.<sup>[5]</sup>

Khoemana clicks

	<b>dental</b>	<b>alveolar</b>	<b>lateral</b>	<b>palatal</b>
<b>plain (velar stop)</b>	ǀ(k)	ǁ(k)	ǃ(k)	ǂ(k)
<b>nasal</b>	ǀǁ	ǁǁ	ǃǃ	ǂǂ
<b>glottalized</b>	ǀʔ	ǁʔ	ǃʔ	ǂʔ
<b>aspirated</b>	ǀ <sup>h</sup>	ǁ <sup>h</sup>	ǃ <sup>h</sup>	ǂ <sup>h</sup>
<b>voiced</b>	ǀ <sup>g</sup>	ǁ <sup>g</sup>	ǃ <sup>g</sup>	ǂ <sup>g</sup>
<b>aspirated k</b>	ǀ <sup>k h</sup>	ǁ <sup>k h</sup>	ǃ <sup>k h</sup>	ǂ <sup>k h</sup>
<b>velar affricate</b>	ǀkx	ǁkx	ǃkx	ǂkx
<b>velar ejective affricate</b>	ǀkxʼ	ǁkxʼ	ǃkxʼ	ǂkxʼ
<b>velar fricative</b>	ǀx	ǁx	ǃx	ǂx

There are four tones in Khoemana:

high-´
rising-˘
mid-ˉ
falling-^

## Population

Reports as to the number of Khoemana speakers are contradictory, but it is clear that it is nearly extinct. It was thought to be extinct until the discovery of four elderly speakers around Bloemfontein and Kimberley.<sup>[8]</sup> A 2009 report by Don Killian of the University of Helsinki estimated that there were less than 30 speakers at the time.<sup>[5]</sup> Matthias Brenzinger reported in 2012 that one possible speaker remained, but that she refused to speak the language.<sup>[9]</sup> The discrepancies could be because the language has multiple dialects and goes by several names, with scholars not always referring to the same population.<sup>[5]</sup> Khoemana is listed as "critically endangered" in UNESCO's Language Atlas.<sup>[10]</sup> The loss of this endangered language would have a significant impact on the heritage and culture of Khoemana speakers.<sup>[11]</sup>

## Attestation

Robust Khoemana (before more recent language attrition) is principally recorded in an 1879 notebook by Lucy Lloyd, which contains five short stories; some additional work was done in Ponelis (1975).<sup>[12]</sup> As of 2009, the EuroBABEL project is searching for remaining speakers.

## History

The people and their language first began to attract scholarly attention in the 1660s, coinciding with Dutch colonial efforts in the Cape of Good Hope and the resulting armed conflicts.<sup>[5]</sup> At the time, Khoemana was widely spoken throughout the coastal regions of South Africa. After years of attrition during the colonial era

to the 1930s, and under apartheid from 1948 to 1994, the language has all but vanished.<sup>[5]</sup> Currently, speakers of Khoemana are not only scarce but scattered, due to forced migrations during the apartheid era. This has rendered the language particularly vulnerable.<sup>[13]</sup>

## References

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1. "Khoemana" (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap/language-id-133.html>). *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in danger*. UNESCO. Retrieved 17 March 2018.
2. Hammarström, Harald; Forkel, Robert; Haspelmath, Martin, eds. (2017). "South Khoekhoe" (<http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/sout3214>). *Glottolog 3.0*. Jena, Germany: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History.
3. The *-kwa* is also a grammatical suffix. The letter "g" for the sound [x] reflects Afrikaans orthography
4. The *-na* is a grammatical suffix
5. Killian, D. *Khoemana and the Griqua* ([https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/229407/Khoemana\\_and\\_the\\_Griqua.pdf](https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/229407/Khoemana_and_the_Griqua.pdf))
6. An ejective velar "scrape" followed by a glottal stop, a bit different from a typical velar ejective affricate
7. D. Beach, 1938. *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language*. Cambridge.
8. Du Plessis, Menan (2011) "Collection of sound files for inclusion in a dictionary of Korana and eventual integration with a corpus of heritage texts"
9. Korana (<http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/kqz>) at Endangered Languages.com
10. UNESCO Xiri (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap/language-id-1442.html>) at *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*
11. Brenzinger, Matthias (2007). *Language Endangerment in Southern and Eastern Africa*. Berlin, Germany. pp. 179–204. ISBN 9783110170498.
12. Povelis, F. A. (1975). "¡Ora Clicks: Problems and Speculations." *Bushman and Hottentot Linguistic Studies*, pp 51–60. ed. Anthony Traill. Communications from the African Studies Institute, no 2. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.
13. Erasmus, P. *Dreams and Visions in Koranna and Griqua Revival in Colonial and Post-Apartheid South Africa* (<http://www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no9/3.9DreamsandVisions.pdf>)

## Further reading

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- Besten, Michael Paul (2006). *Transformation and reconstitution of Khoe-San identities: AAS le Fleur I, Griqua identities and post-apartheid Khoe-San revivalism (1894–2004)* (<http://www.griquaas.com/griquaphd.pdf>) (PDF) (Thesis). Faculty of Arts, Leiden University.
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- The Rosetta Project (2010). *The Swadesh List* ([https://archive.org/stream/rosettaproject\\_xii\\_swadesh-1/xii.txt](https://archive.org/stream/rosettaproject_xii_swadesh-1/xii.txt)).
- Waldman, Linda (2006). "Klaar Gesnap As Kleurling: The Attempted Making and Remaking of the Griqua People". *African Studies*. Routledge. **65** (2): 175–200. doi:10.1080/00020180601035633 (<https://doi.org/10.1080%2F00020180601035633>).
- Maingard, L.F. 1962. *Korana Folktales. Grammar and Texts*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

## External links

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- ! Korana grammar at Cornell ([https://web.archive.org/web/\\*/http://ling.cornell.edu/khoisan/korana/syntaxofkorana.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/*/http://ling.cornell.edu/khoisan/korana/syntaxofkorana.htm)) at the [Wayback Machine](#) (archive index)
  - ! Korana basic lexicon at the Global Lexicostatistical Database (<http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/response.cgi?root=new100&morpho=0&basename=new100\ckh\kkh&limit=-1>)
  - ELAR archive of [Dictionary of Korana \('Ora\)](#) (<http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0266>)
  - Rosetta Project: Xiri Swadesh List ([https://archive.org/stream/rosettaproject\\_xii\\_swadesh-1/xii.txt](https://archive.org/stream/rosettaproject_xii_swadesh-1/xii.txt))
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